

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 003035 TOSEC 130175
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DRAFTED BY EA/PRCM:JSROY

APPROVED BY EA:WHGLEYSTEN, JR.

S/S- PTARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 003035 TOSEC 130175

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EA-WILLIAM H. GLEYSTEN, ACTING

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PEPR, CH, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMO: SENATOR KENNEDY'S MEETINGS IN
PEKING (ES SENSITIVE S/S 7800125)
HONG KONG FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE ONLY
TO: THE SECRETARY

FROM: EA: WILLIAM H. GLEYSTEN, JR.

1. SENATOR KENNEDY'S MEETINGS WITH HUANG HUA AND TENG
HSIAO-PING IN PEKING JANUARY 3 AND 4 FOCUSED HEAVILY ON
THE TAIWAN ISSUE, IN EFFECT COVERING MUCH OF THE SAME
GROUND WE HAVE BEEN OVER WITH THE CHINESE SINCE AUGUST.
WE HAD SUGGESTED THAT KENNEDY AVOID DETAILED DISCUSSION OF
NEGOTIATING ISSUES, BUT IN BOTH CONVERSATIONS, HE TOOK THE
INITIATIVE IN PRESSING THE CHINESE ON NORMALIZATION, IN-
CLUDING AN UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES

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FOR CHINESE PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY IN APPLYING THEIR
PRINCIPLES.

2. THE RESULTING EXCHANGES REVEALED THAT THE CHINESE HAVE
NOTHING NEW TO SAY ON THE SUBJECT OF TAIWAN. KENNEDY
TRIED VALIANTLY TO IMPRESS ON THEM THE NEED TO TAKE INTO
ACCOUNT AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, BUT THE CHINESE REFUSED

TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY HAVE ANY ROLE TO PLAY IN DEALING WITH THE DOMESTIC US POLITICAL ASPECTS OF NORMALIZATION.

3. KENNEDY'S EFFORTS TO DRAW THE CHINESE OUT ON BOTH THE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL ASPECTS OF NORMALIZATION ELICITED STANDARD AND GENERALLY UNHELPFUL CHINESE RESPONSES, ESPECIALLY ON THE ISSUE OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO TAIWAN. IN REJECTING THE NORMALIZATION APPROACH SPELLED OUT IN KENNEDY'S SPEECH LAST AUGUST, HUANG STATED BLUNTLY THAT CONTINUED US SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO TAIWAN PRIOR TO THE ISLAND'S "PEACEFUL LIBERATION" WOULD CONSTITUTE INTERFERENCE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE LINE TAKEN BY CHINESE LEADERS LAST FALL IN MEETINGS WITH US PRESS GROUPS, BUT IT IS THE FIRST TIME THE CHINESE HAVE TAKEN THIS POSITION IN MEETINGS WITH US POLITICAL LEADERS.

4. TENG'S COMMENTS ON YOUR AUGUST TRIP ALSO DID NOT REFLECT ANY CHANGE IN THE CHINESE POSITION. HE CLAIMED THAT US PROPOSALS WOULD NOT WORK, REJECTED ANY CHINESE COMMITMENTS ON "PEACEFUL LIBERATION," AND IN RESTATING THE THREE CONDITIONS REFERRED TO SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AS CRUCIAL. HE AFFIRMED THE CONTINUED ACCEPTABILITY OF THE JAPANESE FORMULA BUT AGAIN RULED
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OUT ANY POSSIBILITY OF RESIDUAL US GOVERNMENTAL TIES WITH TAIWAN.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, BOTH HUANG AND TENG REITERATED THAT CHINA WOULD BE PATIENT AS LONG AS THE US STILL "NEEDED" TAIWAN. UNLIKE TENG, HUANG ALSO SUGGESTED THAT DRAGGING OUT NORMALIZATION WOULD NOT ONLY DIRECTLY AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS BUT WOULD ALSO PRODUCE INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS. HE FUZZED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STATEMENT, HOWEVER, BY QUICKLY ADDING THAT THIS WAS NOT MEANT TO IMPLY ANY BASIC CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

6. THE FAILURE OF BOTH TENG AND HUANG TO CONVEY ANY SENSE OF A DESIRE FOR RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD NORMALIZATION IF THIS ENTAILED CHINESE CONCESSIONS WAS PROBABLY INTENDED TO IMPRESS ON SENATOR KENNEDY THE INFLEXIBILITY OF THE CHINESE POSITION ON TAIWAN RATHER THAN TO INDICATE CHINESE SATISFACTION WITH THE STATUS QUO. INDEED, TENG EXPLICITLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT NORMALIZATION COULD BE PROMPTLY ACCOMPLISHED, BUT HE SAW THIS AS ENTIRELY

DEPENDENT ON US ACTIONS. HUANG ALSO REJECTED ANY NOTION THAT CHINA WOULD TAKE RECIPROCAL ACTIONS ON NORMALIZATION, STRESSING INSTEAD THE OLD PEKING LINE ABOUT THE US "DEBT" OWED TO CHINA.

7. COMMENT: DESPITE THE UNHELPFUL EFFECT OF ELICITING INTRANSIGENT CHINESE POSITIONS, WE THINK IT WAS GOOD THAT THE CHINESE WERE TREATED TO A FORTHRIGHT EXPOSITION OF US PUBLIC OPINION BY A PROMINENT SENATOR. NEVERTHELESS, THE DISCUSSIONS UNDERSCORE THE DIFFICULTIES WE FACE IN MOVING AHEAD ON NORMALIZATION.

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 003035 SENT ACTION USDEL SECRETARY
INFO HONG KONG JAN 06.
QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 003035 TOSEC 130175

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